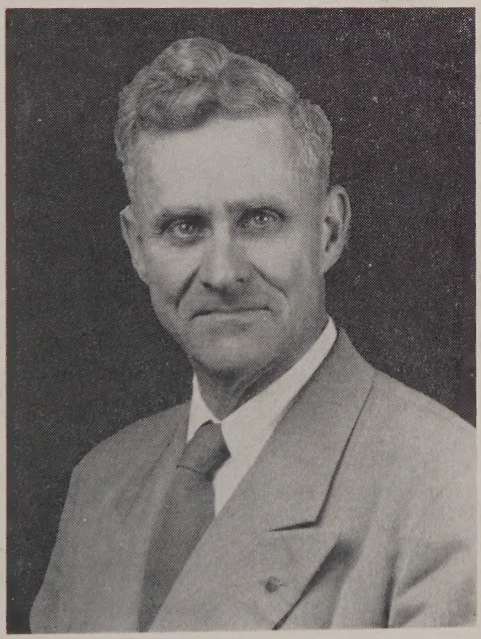
February 1955

Fellowship



ALBERT LIVEZEY *Council Member*

30¢

The Legend of the Third Dove *by Stefan Zweig*

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COVER PHOTO: Fruit grower Albert J. Livezey, president of the Ohio State Horticultural Society and a member of F.O.R.'s National Council.

FELLOWSHIP

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FELLOWSHIP *is published monthly except August. Re-entered as second-class matter July 1, 1947, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the Act of March 3, 1879; additional entry at Lebanon, Pa.*

Fellowship Published by the **Fellowship of Reconciliation**
21 Audubon Ave., New York 32, N. Y.

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30 Cents a Copy
$3 a year

Fellowship
The WORLD in FOCUS
VOLUME 21, NUMBER 2 FEBRUARY 1955

China and the Floods

The Fellowship's campaign to urge this government to send food to China to help with the aftermath of last summer's floods has gained a lot of support from Americans of many different backgrounds, and there is evidence that letters and little bags of grain have flowed into the White House steadily for the past two months. Opposition to the campaign has come from two principal sources: the United States State Department and political supporters of the Chinese Communist regime.

The State Department acknowledges that there has been great suffering as a result of the floods, but argues that (a) the Peiping Government would not accept our offer, and (b) would ship the grain to Russia if she did accept it. [Answers: (a) We cannot know they would not accept it until the offer is made, and (b) this cynical appraisal may be justified, but again we cannot know that it will be in advance. In any case, our responsibility is to make the food available; if the Peiping Government is callous enough to divert food from its own hungry people, that will have its own effect on world opinion and within China itself.]

China supporters, on the other hand, argue that there has been no emergency and that offers of aid would be insulting to the Chinese. The Canadian Far Eastern Newsletter, for example, calls the campaign "astonishing" and says that it deals with a "totally imaginary famine." [In its August issue

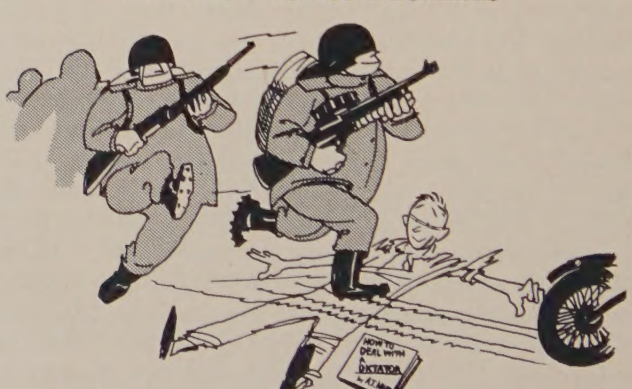
it was the flood itself that was imaginary to the Newsletter's editors, who reported that strenuous work by millions of Chinese workers had kept the high waters within the dikes. Subsequently Peiping itself announced that some 42,000 square miles had been flooded and 10 million people evacuated.]

Reports continue to come in, however, about the extent of the floods and the suffering they have caused, and they are confirmed by informal word, not always quotable in print, from other sources known to be reliable. It would, in any case, be a remarkable thing if in a country whose food situation is normally as precarious as China's a flood of such proportions had not left extensive suffering in its wake. What the exact proportions of that suffering may be is not too important: so long as there are Chinese men, women and children who hunger, American surpluses are a reproach to the American conscience.

Comrades!

During World War II FELLOWSHIP occasionally was taken to task by patriots, and occasionally even by pacifists, for being critical of some aspects of Soviet life and for casting doubt on the outlook for continuance after the war of the

Favorite Pacifist Dilemmas



"Well—would you let them walk all over you?"

U.S.A.-U.S.S.R. alliance. Since then it has become dangerous to suggest that Soviet life has positive aspects.

The Antioch Review, Yellow Springs, Ohio, has published in its Fall 1954 issue an article by Paul Willen entitled *Who "Collaborated" With Russia?* that quotes chapter and verse on the eminently respectable Americans and American publications which, in the 1942-45 period, uttered enthusiastic and virtually unconditional commendation of everything Russian, including Stalin.

Here is a partial list of those cited by Mr. Willen: Bishop Manning ("Anything in the nature of . . . anti-Russian propaganda . . . is a dangerous and peculiarly despicable form of sabotage."); *Collier's; The Saturday Evening Post* (published twenty four of Edgar Snow's strongly pro-Soviet articles and made him an associate editor); *Life* (described the Russians as "one hell of a people who look like Americans, dress like Americans and think like Americans" and also said that if the Soviet leaders said a "system of tight, state-controlled information" was necessary, "we can afford to take their word for it"); *Reader's Digest; The Rotarian;* General Douglas MacArthur; General Dwight D. Eisenhower; William Green, the president of the A. F. of L.; Eddie Rickenbacker (was especially pleased that the Soviet regime did not pamper the labor unions); Senators Vandenberg, Wiley and Connally; James Farley; the *New York Herald Tribune; Newsweek;* American Gold Star Mothers.

Mr. Willen also supplies the illuminating bit of information that an Elmo Roper poll conducted in 1943 by *Fortune* magazine revealed that "executives" were the most confident that the Kremlin's intentions could be trusted. Half of them, almost, as against 31 percent of the entire population, anticipated no trouble between Russia and the U.S. in the post-war period!

Reprints of this article, invaluable among other things in cooling off anti-Russian and anti-Communist hysteria, are available.

Re-Evaluation

The air is thick these days—the pacifist air, that is—with thoughts of "re-evaluation." Formal and informal groups

meet to "rethink the pacifist position in a time of great flux"; individuals shift restively in search of new answers and new directions.

Whatever comes out of the individual efforts, the impulse itself is good, and we are all for it. The years ahead are likely to be strewn with broken-down old concepts and out-moded frames of reference; it will require fluid and flexible minds to keep abreast of developments, let alone influence them.

Our own offering to the busy rethinkers leaped practically full-grown from an observation in the *New York Times* Book Review section of a few weeks ago. It is that in between watching the politicians and the sociologists and the churchmen, who—forgive it please!—too often speak in the accents of the past, we all keep a weather eye on the novelists, who reflect the present and pretty frequently offer a peephole into the future.

The *Times* writer, remarking that the best novelists of any given period usually articulate the currents that really are stirring the life of the people, recalled their preoccupation with an almost anarchic individualism in the 'twenties and with the depression-born other extreme of Marxist collectivism in the 'thirties. On the surface, he noted, no such common theme is apparent in contemporary novels.

Only on the surface, however. More careful scrutiny reveals that there is such a theme, and that it is found in the most disparate works. It is the theme of a reliance on love and the realization of men's interdependence as the only genuine cohesive element in society. From "From Here to Eternity" to "A Fable" the theme is found, and it may indicate some rethinking is going on outside the pacifist ranks.

Fantasy Pacifism

Not unrelated to the above is the matter of so-called "fantasy fiction," which people keep calling to our attention. Repeatedly we are astonished to read, in the magazine *Galaxy,* for instance, stories that are distinguished for the quality of their writing (good) and even more for their social conscience (excellent). If these stories reflect the genuine concerns of their readers, then there are many more wistfully would-be pacifists batting around the country than are on the membership rolls of FOR.

The legend of the Third Dove

by Stefan Zweig

Translated by Prof. Harry Zohn, Brandeis University

IN THE BOOK OF GENESIS we read the story of the two doves which the patriarch Noah sent forth from the ark when the floodgates of heaven had closed and the waters of the deep had subsided. But as for the flight and fate of the third dove—who has related that?

The ark of rescue which sheltered all life spared from the deluge came to rest atop Mount Ararat. When Father Noah looked out from the ark and saw only waves and billows, an endless expanse of water, he sent forth a dove to learn if somewhere under the cloudless firmament land was to be found.

The first dove—so the Bible tells us—soared upwards, spreading her wings. She flew East and she flew West, but the waters still covered the face of the earth. Nowhere did she find rest for the sole of her foot, and gradually her wings grew tired. So she returned to the only solid thing on earth, the ark, fluttering about the vessel at rest on the mountain top until Noah put forth his hand and took her in.

Noah waited yet another seven days, during which time no rain fell and the waters receded. He then took a second dove and sent her forth for tidings. This dove flew out in the morning, and when she returned at eventide, behold, she carried in her mouth a freshly-plucked olive leaf, a first token of the liberated earth. So Noah knew

that the tops of the trees were already above water and that the trial was over.

AFTER another seven days Noah sent forth a third dove who flew out into the world. In the morning she flew away, but she did not come back in the evening. Noah waited many days, but the dove did not return. Now Father Noah could be certain that the earth was clear and that the waters had subsided.

But the dove, the third dove, was never heard of again, neither by Noah nor by mankind; never, to our days, has her legend been told.

But what was the fate of the third dove? In the morning she had flown out of the musty quarters of the ark where the animals, closely pressed together, crowding hoofs and claws, growled with impatience in the confusion of roaring, whistling, hissing and barking. She had flown out of confinement into the open sky, out of darkness into light. Raising her wings into the bright, clear, rain-washed air, she suddenly thrilled to her new-found freedom, knowing the bliss of the infinite.

THE waters of the deep shimmered; the forests shone green as dewy moss; the white early-morning vapors rose from the meadows; and the fragrant fermentation of the plants sweetened the fields. The metallic skies glistened brilliantly; the mountain tops diffused the light of the rising sun in an endless red glow which made the sea shine like red blood and the blooming earth steam as from boiling blood. To watch this awakening was something divine, and the dove blissfully and with level wings hovered over the radiant world. She flew over lands and seas, dreaming all the while, while she herself became a winged dream.

She was now the first to see, as God Himself had seen, the liberated earth, and her looking knew no end. She had long since forgotten Noah, the white-bearded master of the ark, and his commission, long since forgotten about her return. For the world was now her home, all the heavens her very own dwelling place.

AND so the third dove, unfaithful messenger of the patriarch, flew over the uninhabited earth, borne farther and ever farther by the tempest of her joy, by the wind of her blissful unrest; onward she flew until her wings grew heavy and her plumage leaden. The earth drew her downward with a mighty force; her weary wings sank lower and lower, grazing the moist tree tops.

On the evening of the second day, she finally descended into the depths of a forest, nameless as were all things in that beginning of time. In the thicket of the branches she found shelter and rested from her flight. Brushwood covered her, the wind lulled her to sleep; it was cool in the foliage by day, warm in the wooded abode by night. Soon she forgot the windy skies and the lure of the faraway; the verdant vault enclosed her and time, unmeasured, passed over her.

THE stray dove had chosen for her domicile a forest of our nearby world, where no people lived as yet, and in her solitude she gradually turned into a dream herself, nesting in the night-green dark. The years passed her by, and even

Death forgot her; for all those animals who knew the world before the deluge are immortal and no hunter can harm them; invisible, they live in the unexplored crevices of the earth, just as this dove lived in the deep of the forest.

At times, to be sure, she sensed the presence of men. A shot would ring out and echo a hundred fold from the green walls; woodchoppers would strike against the tree trunks, their blows resounding through the forest; the soft laughter of lovers, arm in arm, seeking secluded spots, rippled softly through the shrubbery; and from afar, barely audible, could be heard the singing of children hunting berries. The dream-laden dove, entangled in foliage and reveries, sometimes heard these voices of the world; but she listened to them without fear and remained hidden.

One day, however, the whole forest began to roar and thunder as though the earth were erupting. Masses of black metal whirled through the air, and where they fell the earth blew up in horror and the trees broke like straws. Men in colored garments hurled death at one another, and terrible machines spit out fire. Lightning rose from the earth to the clouds, and thunder followed; it seemed as if the earth wished to burst into the sky or the sky crash down upon the earth. The dove started from her dream. Death and destruction were about her; fire now engulfed the earth as had the waters once before. Quickly she spread her wings and soared into the air to seek asylum, a place of peace beyond the crashing forest.

She darted upward and flew over our earth in search of peace, but wherever she flew there was this man-made lightning and thunder; war was everywhere. As of old, an ocean of fire and blood was flooding the earth; the deluge had come again. Hurriedly she winged her way through the world, to espy a place of rest and then to soar up to Father Noah to bring him the Olive-leaf of Promise.

But this was nowhere to be found in those days; the flood of perdition rose higher and higher, the conflagration spread farther and farther. The dove has still not found rest, just as mankind has not found peace. While she still searches, she may not return home, nor may she rest.

No one has seen her in our days, this stray mythical dove, this peace-seeker. Nonetheless, she is fluttering over our heads, frightened and weary of wing. Sometimes, in the night, starting from sleep, one hears a rustling in the air, a stirring in the darkness, a troubled flight and a helpless escape. Upon her wings ride all our forebodings; in her fright all our hopes fluctuate. This stray dove, this unfaithful messenger of old, trembling between heaven and earth, now proclaims our own fate to the father of mankind.

And once again, as thousands of years ago, a world awaits One who will hold out His hands to her, aware that there has now been trial enough.

Not Just By Love

by Roger B. Cuneo

PSYCHOLOGISTS and psychiatrists tell us that human relations depend a great deal on the way people act together. This condition is called the "emotional atmosphere."

Every situation in which people are involved has this ingredient—a home, an office, a boy scout club, even a conversation between two individuals. An atmosphere, like a person, changes constantly. From feelings of sadness it can move to pangs of happiness, then to fear, to love, to hate and back to sadness again. Yet in spite of these changes, comparatively stable institutions (such as the church, the home, the school, the community) are characterized by one basic emotional atmosphere.

If one can accept this hypothesis, namely, that (a) emotional atmospheres influence people's actions and (b) people, homes, churches, etc. have relatively stable atmospheres, is it not important to know just which atmosphere produces the best climate for growth and development?

The social scientists also inform us that people have feelings and thoughts and desires which must not lie dormant. They go on to say that the ideal emotional atmosphere is one in which a person can express these feelings and thoughts and desires without fear of reprisal or reprimand.

One might well comment at this point, "But this would mean that if someone wishes to steal, for example, you should allow it."

Let me give you a rather long answer to this observation, for the

weight of each of your words is so great that I must make use of many light ones to counterbalance them.

Observing and Listening

A child isn't born with knowledge. He learns by observing and listening—by experience. Usually your examples of honesty will be enough to teach your child eventually not to take what does not belong to him.

But in his younger years, a child is all ego. He is in a dynamic stage, the period of growth that cannot be expected to understand adult rules. He sees an object he likes; he takes it. It would be easy under such circumstances to reprimand him, to tell him he is dishonest, to spank him; to instill in him a sense of guilt, sorrow, humiliation, and worthlessness because he has broken a law he did not yet know was law.

Conditioning and Teaching

Would it not be more effective in terms of his development to explain that the stolen article belonged to another individual, and give him a simple reason why people have their own property? Then he would not feel guilty or apprehensive over what he had done. Instead, he would have learned a good reason for honesty. He will have expectations to strive toward, without the crippling experience of fear—all of which are supplied by talking to him about "his" property as differentiated from "other" property. Tomorrow he may take again. But with more conditioning and teaching, he will be able to control his desires; he now has an understanding of the reasons for the rules or laws against stealing. He is partially self-governing.

A summary of this sketch shows how it ties in with the ideal emotional atmosphere. A child sees a desirable object. He expresses his want of it by grabbing. The parent responds with punishment. Although the child may learn self-control, it will be because of fear. If, however, the parents allow the child to take what he wants, do not punish the child but rather set up guide posts to help him limit his behavior, the child will learn self-control through knowledge of the purpose and value of restraint.

Similarly, if you allow people to express themselves in an ideal emotional atmosphere, you set forth your own actions, expectations and expressions. And people will respond.

The F.O.R.

I attended recently a conference of an organization called the "Fellowship of Reconciliation." There I became acquainted with pacifism for the first time. The pacifists say that the way to world salvation is peace, and the way of peace is love. This love is not the transient phenomenon which grips adolescents, but is, according to Alfred Hassler in *Pacifism and the Human Spirit:*

> an approach to another person that involves a profound respect for him as an individual, regardless of his actions and surface personality. It is sympathy and understanding — a refusal to judge—a willingness to understand that the same fears and worries and hopes and ambitions have their way with others as with oneself.

It seems to me that to the pacifist "love" is analogous to the psychologist's definition of "ideal emo-

tional atmosphere." People should live and act freely without fear of one another.

If the pacifists stopped here, they too would be open to the same question that can be asked of the child who steals: "It's great to be free and easy, but what's stopping things from going haywire?" The pacifist answer is, "We feel that war is an evil which in view of present weapons could easily destroy the world. We love mankind. We should therefore abolish war."

The pacifists do not stop with talk of love, however. They act, and these actions are positive—not prompted by malice, nor by a desire to punish. They send work crews throughout the world to help clear slums and to reconstruct war-torn areas. They send money to starving families in Europe, clothes to naked children in Asia. And they all live together as human beings, without regard to ethnic background.

This is exactly what the doctors order. The doctors say: "No purely punitive steps in child training, nor, indeed, in any inter-personal relationships but, instead, just understanding, examples of expectations, and explanations of why things are done."

Perhaps we in the United States can learn from these two views. Do we have to have an army? Isn't it an instrument for punishment or reprisal? What would happen if we disarmed and began to spend all this money helping the underdeveloped areas of the world? Could we train Russia to such a system? Could we train other nations?

It works with individuals. Isn't this the enlightened and effective way to teach?

A "Just" Defensive War?

Neither the West nor the East is able to conduct a just defensive war. This could be done only by a state which in no way has given cause for war, a state which has fully kept the Ten Commandments and the Gospel of Christ. Only such a state could claim that it has been attacked by an injust aggressor.

But not a single state, either in the West or in the East, can make this claim because the states of the world do not bother about all the Ten Commandments of God. They are all the time getting themselves involved in war-like entanglements: the West by reason of its capitalism which is sinful in itself, and the East by reason of its Bolshevist communism which is sinful in itself.

Both capitalism and communism are children of materialism. They are, therefore, opposed to Christianity. . . .

Rev. Johannes Ude,
in Pax Bulletin, Sept. 1954

India looks at America's Race Problem

by Roland E. Wolseley

NO MATTER WHAT SPECIALTY they may represent, no matter how remote they may be from the race problem, Americans in India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma and other countries in Asia always are asked questions about the relations of the Negro and the white in the United States.

My main assignment while in India for 14 months was to teach and practice journalism, not sociology or anthropology. My public speeches were about the press of India or of the United States, or about the American educational system. I could be sure, however, that after I had concluded my presentation one of the first questions asked would be one of these:

"You Americans talk a lot about democracy, but when are you going to treat the Negro people of your country democratically?"

"Are the Negroes of America any better off than they used to be?"

"Is it true that you lynch hundreds of Negroes in a year in America?"

Sometimes the questioner put sarcasm into his voice, sometimes (he) (it was just as likely to be a she) was clearly belligerent and asked the question, not in search of an answer, but to embarrass me. These were not always friendly enquirers. They were Indians who followed a line which members of the Communist parties of the world have been told to pursue. A few times my hosts later were able to identify

certain of these questioners as ardent members of India's small but noisy Communist group.

Want Firsthand Information

More often that not, however, the subject was raised by persons who were hoping to hear that we are making headway in solving the problem. They wanted facts from a person who was fresh from a country about which they had only second-hand information. Whoever the questioners and whatever their motives, I noticed that anti-Semitism was rarely mentioned, probably because it is not an issue to which India had been related. Indians also realize, as many Americans do not yet realize, that anti-Semitism is not actually a matter of race.

Whatever the motive of the question, whatever its source, it was always embarrassing to deal with. Honesty required admission that despite our principles and our constant and easy worship of the theory of democracy, we had not brought an end to the discrimination and the attitude of domination by the white people. Indian Christions who asked about race in America were more difficult to answer than were Hindus or Moslems because Indian Christians expect so much more in the way of Christian behavior.

After a few question-and-answer periods I decided that more good could be done by admitting our faults of the past, describing our efforts to improve racial relations, and asking for patience and understanding by drawing a comparison with India's own difficulties in eradicating the caste system; more good, that is, than by trying to argue that we were completely in the right.

One day I received a telegram from the United States Information Service offices in Bombay informing me that Hodding Carter, the Pulitzer Prize winning journalist from Greenville, Miss., was to visit Nagpur while touring India. As Nagpur is where I lived while on my Fulbright lectureship, I was asked to arrange speaking dates for him in that city of nearly 500,000 people.

During our short acquaintance I learned from Carter that the questions he had encountered at Nagpur were much like those being voiced in other cities he had already visited, and his answers were about the same. They were not dissimilar to those posed to me. After my return to the U.S.A., I noted that Saunders Redding, the American Negro teacher and novelist, in his book *An American in India*, had had a similar experience. Unlike Carter, however, he had been considerably upset by it.

Universal Problem

Calling attention to India's own painful problem of caste and untouchability, however, appeared to me, when I and others used it, as being a stratagem that merely shifted the spotlight. It was, to be sure, successful at times in gaining greater understanding of us and explained our slowness in getting results. It engendered patience where patience might not have existed before.

But it did not free Americans from responsibility. Persistent and acute questioners reminded us of that. Two wrongs do not make a right, as one of them reminded me; he asked, "Do you think what you are doing in America is enough?" Of course, it wasn't enough then—or now. The Americans thus put on

the spot usually admitted that and said they were hoping for more progress.

We got it in the spring of 1954 when the Supreme Court handed down its decision about segregation in public schools. In India this was a far more convincing piece of evidence about our intentions and hopes than any number of State Department or Fulbright speakers, Negro or white. The Voice of America quickly took full advantage of it and informed at least that part of the world that can or may listen. This great news was widely disseminated in India. What was the result?

The people who are friendly to the U.S.A., or disinterested, which is the more common position, rejoiced. The enemies of the U.S.A. were disconcerted, and sought to describe the decision as mere window dressing. When people later heard reports of violence resulting from the decision, of the defiance of it, of the antics of Bowles and his fantastic organization, the National Association for the Advancement of White People, much of the good of the Supreme Court's action was lost, and the Communists particularly had new evidence in support of their point that the white people of the U.S.A. have really not changed in their basic attitudes toward people of color.

The people of India, like all peoples whose skin color is not white, are deeply concerned about the welfare of American Negroes. There is a ready-made, automatic sympathy with them and a strong desire to see them more justly treated. It does not take Communist prodding to produce such sympathy; it has existed among educated Indains for years. Racially, Indians are Dravidian and Aryan, not Negro in origin. Many, however, have suffered mistreatment from white people not unlike that experienced by Negroes. Sometimes this came from their own former British rulers, sometimes in Africa, and sometimes in the United States, when they have come here on tours to study.

Mohandas Gandhi, who determined so many of the social attitudes of modern Indians, helped set their minds about the race issue. It must be noted, however, that relatively few Indians think about it. About 85% of the 360 millions in India are illiterate; most Indians are too absorbed by the struggle for survival to ponder the race problem at home or abroad. Gandhi's own sharp feelings came from his experiences in South Africa where he encountered race discrimination in 1893; he was nearly lynched during his 18-year struggle in Africa in behalf of the 100,000 Indians.

Jawaharlal Nehru, Vinoba Bhave, and other Indian leaders have continued to fight for abolition of discrimination within India. With such leaders and traditions it is no wonder that the people of India who are race conscious are just about as concerned over the white-colored problem as they are about

The Author Roland E. Wolseley is Professor of Journalism at Syracuse University and the author of "Face to Face With India," the interdenominational adult study book for 1954-1955. He serves on the Literature Committee of F.O.R. As a Fulbright Lecturer he spent 14 recent months in India.

the horrors to be expected from scientific warfare, which trouble them greatly.

Indians look naturally to the Christian missionaries among them for enlightenment and assurance. Usually they get them, but sometimes not. A few American missionaries in India and elsewhere are not necessarily free of race prejudice. It is a disappointment to know it, but there have been and still are missionaries who lord it over the Indian people much as did some of the British people in Kipling's day, and as did some of the plantation grandees of our own early history. It is a small minority, to be sure, but it is there, and it is not being overlooked by hypersensitive Indians, or by anti-American Indians.

Frequently the transgressors are independent missionaries, or representatives of small sects or denominations that have no clear policy, or persons from groups who accept racial discrimination as a dictate from the Bible.

Distorting Reality

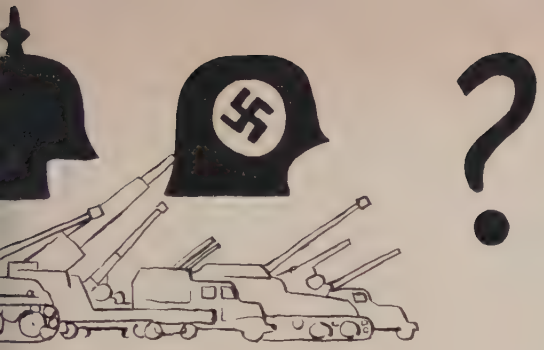
Another source of misunderstanding of the American racial situation is the content of the newspapers, magazines, books, and films received from the United States.

Walk around Connaught Circus, the huge circular shopping center of New Delhi, India's national capitol, and stop in at the book and periodical stores. Saunter along Queensway, the wide street that runs into the Circus and is lined on one side by substantial office buildings and on the other by the shaky wooden structures that house refugee shops. Sold by ragged newsboys or by vendors who lay out the magazines along the sidewalk, are 6-month old issues of American magazines for Negroes: *Ebony, Our World, Color,* and others. These are proud with stories of the achievements of Americans of black skin, but the obstacles they have had to meet are noted. There are also reports of the injustices practiced on black Americans.

Near them are comic books, all the worst sort we print. When people of color figure in them they usually are in debased positions; the whites are the masters. In neat lines or disorderly piles beside them are hundreds of paper-back books; the majority are westerns, spy, detective, crime, or sex novels, cheap in their ideas, writing, and concepts. In few of these do the people of color ever figure with nobility; usually they appear as criminals or fools. Mixed with this literature are a few books by Richard Wright or one or two other recognized, serious American novelists who are Negroes.

Stop at one of the few movie houses in an Indian metropolis to see one of the many American pictures. It is likely to show Negroes playing the parts of buffoons: stupid people afraid of ghosts and animals, constantly the foil for smart white men. Rarely is a Negro presented with dignity.

The picture of race relations in the United States that is in the mind of a citizen of India exposed to these impressions is, as can be imagined, hardly flattering to us. That picture will persist so long as our racial scene stays as it is, for our periodicals and our movies reflect the dominant group's views. But because the over-sensitive Indian and other people of Asia are being goaded by an element of anti-Americans in their country, they get an even worse picture about race in America than the truth, which is bad.



THE OTHER GERMANY

by Henry Holm

As German rearmament apparently nears, there are numerous signs of alarm lest the country once more be led into the path of militarism. A movement is gathering strength to press for the Swiss system, rather than anything like the old German system, and deep concern is being manifested even about the nature of the uniforms to be worn by German soldiers. The most outright opposition, however, comes from youth.

Although relatively few young Germans are affiliated with any peace or pacifist group, at least a considerable section of the younger generation is utterly opposed to any kind of military service. Several youth associations have openly indicated their intention to resist conscription. One of these is the *Naturfreunde* (Friends of Nature). Another is the *Falken* (Falcons), young people connected with the Social Democratic Party. Even the congress of the trade Union's youth, with some 5,000,000 members, has adopted a resolution to this effect, which found its way into the headlines.

Whenever the government has tried to probe into the real attitude of youth, it has found that enthusiasm for becoming soldiers is low. On one occasion, a government official from the so-called Blank Ministry, that is, the organization which

will become the ministry of Defense, went to Dortmund, together with the well-known pacifist, Dr. F. Siegmund-Schultze, to debate the question before some 400 young people. To the official's surprise, 20 out of 22 youth speakers opposed rearmament, and a resolution against it was supported by 90 per cent of those present.

Pacifism Now Suspect

Last November 3, as on every Wednesday, there was an open discussion at the Cologne Station, this time on the question: "Do the 20-year-olds want to become soldiers?" The hall was packed with young students and workers, and the two members of the Defense Ministry had no easy time.

Excitement ran high; the general clamor was, "We need no uniforms!" When Count Baudissin pointed out that the Soviets would consider conscientious objection a sign of weakness in the West, one boy retorted: "That is what Goebbels used to say!" Those present were not to any extent members of pacifist organizations, but were fairly representative of the generation of 20, that will some day be called to the colors.

This correspondent once heard a German Jew say that under Hitler the persecution of pacifists was worse than that of the Jews. In any case, once the Hitler nightmare was over, pacifism came back strongly into public life. In the first period after the surrender, to be a pacifist was the best recommendation a man in Germany could have. Disappointment over what total war had done to the country was general. It was only when a certain measure of comfort had been reestablished that a reduction of pacifism occurred. Under the pressure for rearmament, originating in the United States and pushed by the Adenauer government, pacifists began once more to feel uneasy, and if not persecuted, at least suspect. Peace societies are not powerful.

The German Peace Society was founded long ago by Bertha von Suttner and Alfred Fried. It was a rather conservative group, until it received a fresh impetus in 1927 when Fritz Kuster and General von Schoenaich took leadership. It then became more radical, and people of the poorer classes began to join. In the years preceding the Hitler era, the main topic of the G.P.S. was: "If the world is foolish enough to allow a new German rearmament, it will have to pay for it by a horrible war, as Germany will attack. And she will be punished for it by losing the war." After 1945, the group never reached its former strength. In the first years of the defeat, most people thought peace work superflous, since the country was entirely disarmed anyhow. Kuster is enormously busy with his paper, *Das Andere Deutschland* (The Other Germany).

Vanguards of Peace

The War Resisters' International, German Branch, founded in 1925, was a rather small group before the war, collecting the few objectors there were. After the war it became stronger, even in numbers, than the Peace Society. It may actually be the strongest group today, although its ambition is not so much to be strong in numbers as to be in the vanguard of progress toward real peace. Like all the peace groups, it lacks funds for any substantial propaganda, yet its influence is greater than might

superficially be realized. After all, conscientious objection is provided for in the basic law, though the precise regulations are not yet known. But objection is very popular, at least now, in the younger generation.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation, though influential, is less strong, and its members, pledged to objection, are all religious. The relations between these two groups are so good that they now have a joint monthly paper. There are other peace groups, of course, such as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the West German Women's Peace Society, and the Society of Friends. They do fine work for peace within the limitations of their strength; they do not compete with each other, and among them relations are good.

On the other hand, relations between the West German peace groups and the German branch of the World Peace Council (East and Communist-inspired) are not cordial. As the Eastern peace movement is subsidized by the government, it can boast of having adherents by the hundreds of thousands, if not millions. But, as always, the increase in number has been followed by a deterioration in quality. Peace workers in West Germany have to be very steadfast to maintain themselves against the pressure of the Adenauer government, while no personal courage is necessary to join the peace movement in East Germany.

The world outside Germany must face up to one thing that many a German never forgets. Germany is divided into two halves, belonging to two different power blocs. There are few families that do not have some of their relatives on the other side. To prepare for even a theoretical war means for nearly all Germans to prepare for fighting their cousins. Would the inhabitants of New York be entirely happy to carry arms for possible use against the people of Boston or Pittsburgh?

Courtesy, Worldover Press

If instead of wasting our time and our liberty in bearing malice, envying one another, contending with one another, trying one to exalt himself above the other, we would strive to accept each hour of our life as the prisoner accepts his first hour of freedom, to meet one another as we do on leaving the house of the dead, to find one another anew each day as one does beyond that inferno, to acknowledge each single minute of our freedom as an act of liberation by the living God —if we did all this, would not the Kingdom of God be forthwith among us? Surely this is how one day it will be established, at a moment that no man dreams of, in a manner both sweet and awesome.

Roland de Pury, Journal From My Cell
(Used by permission of Harper Bros.)

Strength for These Days—

Umbrellas of Prayer

by Dottie Samuel

PRAYING for peace is overwhelming. It is like trying to love all the people of, say, India individually. It is like praying for the recovery of every cripple in America. Holding an umbrella of prayer over one person is a load we can get under, whole soul and whole heart. Holding an umbrella over the whole world is pretty hard to do with any strong, personal feeling.

Yet we can hold the umbrella of prayer over a friend, for instance, and then, through that friend, extend its edges to cover all with the same need. We have to, if we would not just use prayer selfishly.

And, just so, we have to pray for peace. "Anything you ask in My Name," Jesus promised, "I will do for you." If "in His Name" means in the Spirit of Jesus, then no prayer could be more demanded than the prayer for peace.

> Lord, let there be peace in the hearts of men, in the Name of, and by the Power of, the Prince of Peace.

But where can we first raise that umbrella? What individual can capture our hearts so strongly we can pray with power—and then extend the edges of the umbrella to cover all like him? For peace is not a thing, a single item to be handed us by God. Peace is a condition of love in human hearts. When it exists in enough individual hearts, there is peace on earth, good will among men.

I live near two big military bases. Day and night the planes fly overhead carrying men being trained to use them as instruments of destruc-

tion, punishment, revenge. The blast of the jet or the dull hum of the bomber, alike, convey always a sense of horror. Somewhere overhead, looking down on the peaceful spread of farms and cattle and crops and very little human beings, is a youngster whose eyes are being taught to see targets, strategic roads and possible enemy cover. Where I, below, see peace and warmth, human beings and God's lesser creations of love, he is learning to observe points for destruction and catch landmarks on his bomb sites.

There is the individual point where my heart can raise an umbrella. For, truly, in Jesus' Name, I feel for him deeply and personally. I almost ache with the need to share with his human heart my perception of the moving creatures on the land as human beings, quietly working with God to bring seeds to harvest and food to hungry humanity. A need cries out to help him look down on God's creation in loving wonder and rejoicing.

And so, when the engines roar, I open my prayer umbrella. The flyer above is a very distinct person, one of those for whom Christ dies, with a heart naturally made to love the people working below him and to revere the land supporting them. I merely pray for the release of all those natural instincts of love and wonder, for a welling up in him of a great desire to serve and help and preserve the little people moving like dots below his wings. I can almost see him look down in boyish love, identifying himself deeply and widely with the people he flies over—sharing their dreams and their sense of co-working with God, the simplicities of common humanity.

And I see him, then, flying over other lands and looking down on those God made, similarly engaged in tilling His soil and tending His fruit. And, with my umbrella of prayer held high, I know he will never be able to disengage himself from the identification, never forget the deep love that has grown between himself and the creatures he overlooks, never escape the common humanity of all men nor fail to see the identity in foreign farms and American farms, foreign men and women of flesh and blood and hearts and longing and American men and women of flesh and blood and hearts and longing. There will be no room for hate in his soul for it will touched by the God who also looks down from a high vantage point with a heart overflowing with love.

Prayers for peace futile, overwhelmed by the sheer numbers needing prayer? Never. Not when each day brings us, in some manner, into relationship with individuals over whom we can easily and meaningfully raise an umbrella of prayer.

Peace begins, lives and ends in human hearts. But a human heart is the very thing for which we can most powerfully pray "in His Name," in the Spirit and love of Jesus Christ, whose name is "Wonderful, Counsellor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace."

Before Prison

(for a conscientious objector)

Rain, if now he walks in you, come gently down,
Touch warm his skin, glint diamond in his hair,
Weave to easy mist the winter air
And lead at last spring to the winter town
By every ruse: soften the hard, dark tree,
Blur the building's stone with magic grey.
Make of this sorry time an April day
Whose rain is kind as only rain can be,

For now he faces a night I know not of
Who am so held in freedom's open hand,
And fear will be the flower of that land,
Except his faith and vision husband love.
Which is a bitter task; so rain, be kind.
Give him the courage I may never find.

MARGARET ROCKWELL

Elegy for Imprisoned Friends

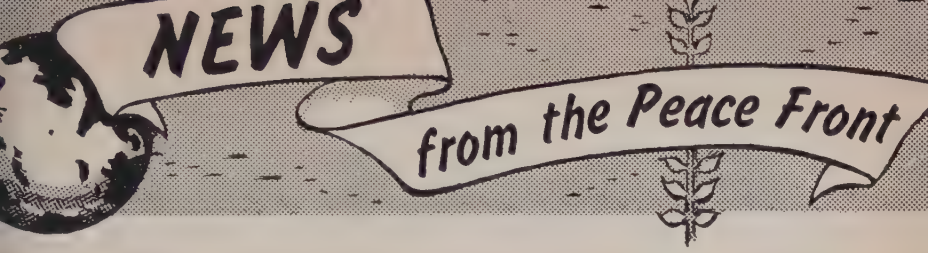
speak to the wind
and let your words be blown
to the waiting people

write on every wall
in double letters
that these men are not afraid

let them go proudly
that we shall know that these were men
and the prison will not silence them

for what they have done
is written on the wind
and shall be blown to all the people

DAVID McREYNOLDS



F.O.R. Gets Unique Japanese Movie

After months of negotiations, on top of the frustrated hope of getting the film for a premiere showing during the 1954 National Conference, the F.O.R. has been able to import "Genbaku No Ko" ("Children of the A-Bomb.") The film previewed by National Council and other staff people in December, is now being enthusiastically pushed for U.S. showings.

The film tells the story of Hiroshima 5 or 6 years after the dropping of the A-Bomb, as seen through the eyes and experiences of a young schoolteacher, Takako. There are many unforgettable scenes, built out of tragedy and horror of war.

Reviews of the film in *The Manchester Guardian* (Eng.) and *The Nation* have praised it highly and noted its good reception in France. A missionary F.O.R. member, who helped F.O.R. get in touch with the producers of the film, has written: "I am a pacifist and feel that the film is as good as a talk by Muriel Lester, if not better."

Tengo Yamada, representing the producers, says he hopes F.O.R.'s use of the film "will serve for peace." In any case, some Americans will see it and feel the impact of its essentially pacifist message. The film is authentic, having run for two years in Japan as a feature film, and, with English subtitles, is certainly ready for distribution among English-speaking peoples.

Hitzkirchen Church Issues Moving Appeal

"Beware of the Defense Service!" —"Believe in God and remain true to His Son!" Such are the opening and closing phrases of a leaflet published recently by the elders and pastor of the Evangelical Church in Hitzkirchen, Germany.

Pastor Grisshammer and his congregation make a direct and moving appeal to other congregations in Western Germany to refuse to have anything to do with German rearmament. They call upon young men to refuse to render military service.

The leaflet is, in short, a strong statement of the Christian pacifist position: "Consider that the name of Jesus Christ has been pronounced over you, and that you have received the spirit of Peace. Do not listen to those in the West who preach hatred toward the East. Rather seek the way that will bring us together."

December Council Hears of P. R. Tour

Details of a visit of F.O.R. members to the island of Puerto Rico during Holy Week this year were announced at the National Council

sessions in early December by Field Secretary Glenn Smiley. Twenty F.O.R. members will visit and talk with government and church and social service workers under the leadership of a national F.O.R. staff person. Travel will be by air; cost will be $200.

At the same meeting, two new Council members were welcomed into the fellowship: Hazel Perkison, who is Director of Christian Education and Community Services of the Broadway Tabernacle Church in NYC, and George Willoughby, currently director of A.F.S.C.'s services to conscientious objectors. Converse (Connie) Hunter, a senior student at Union Theological Seminary, and Mary Moss (Polly) Cuthbertson, Resident Secretary for the Middle Atlantic Student Christian Association, were co-opted for the Executive Committee.

A "proposal for a project in reconciliation in connection with the struggle for civil liberties in the U.S.A." was presented. The proposal is that the F.O.R. undertake a project in understanding and reconciliation in the field of civil liberties, through the formation of "reconciliation teams." These teams would deal with individuals and groups engaged in current "red baiting," anti-Semitic, anti-integration, etc., activities. The project would be largely carried out locally by F.O.R. groups and/or members but could be extended to church groups and perhaps others with which F.O.R. members have contact.

In answer to a long-standing request by the Council, a "peace program" setting down on paper the implications of the F.O.R.'s pacifist position on many fronts, was submitted by A. J. Muste. The Council decided there was some recasting needed and gave the job to A. J. and Alfred Hassler.

The Council also had before it three proposals from the plenary session of members at last year's National Conference. The suggestion that a work team be sent to Chile was passed on to the International Fellowship, with the understanding the AFOR could cooperate with whatever IFOR decided to set up. A motion was carried, further, that National Council members be urged to attend the national conferences.

It was the third proposal—that on the question of economics and war—that drew the most debate. This asked that a commission of qualified pacifists be assembled to deal with the problem of the economic causes of war, that a questionnaire be circulated among the membership on the same question, that FELLOWSHIP carry articles in this area continuously, that a permanent secretary be appointed to the staff to provide leadership in this field, that the possibility of moving the national office to "some more central, less metropolitan" location be explored and that "thought be given to setting it up along less traditional lines which might serve as an example of brotherhood." The question about the relation of economics to war being highly debatable, the main burden of this proposal was carried over for further discussion at some other time. It was recommended that FELLOWSHIP keep the question alive, however, through articles.

"Children of the A-Bomb," the powerful Japanese film the F.O.R. has imported for showings in America, was shown to the Council members for their opinion. General reaction: the film "packed a terrific message."

Roundtable discussion at 1954 Nat'l Conference featured (l. to r.) Martin Niemöller, H. H. Farmer, Lyle Tatum (presiding), A. J. Muste, and N. Van Gelder. The Conference for 1955, it has just been announced, will be held September 2, 3 and 4 at Camp Mack, Milford, Indiana.

California FOR To Push Peace Plays

A new way of promoting peace is being explored in California.

Wilson Riles, Pacific Southwest Regional Secretary, announced recently that California F.O.R. members will stage and produce several peace-themed dramas this year. Although the project is still in the planning stage, Riles is hopeful that these plays will get the peace message to a wide audience. Furthermore, if the experiment proves successful, arrangements will be made to show the plays to other interested groups.

Emil Sitka, Hollywood actor and F.O.R. member, will direct and cast the plays. Sitka feels that the project, eventually attracting more and more people, could be the beginning of a long-range program. He aims to use as many F.O.R. people in the cast as possible, reserving supplementary roles for non-members. Already 26 people have reported for initial try-outs.

One of the big problems is to find volunteers to work backstage.

British FOR Gets New Editor

Reverend Glyn Lloyd Phelps has been named to succeed Reverend Lewis MacLachlan as editor of *Reconciliation*, religious monthly of the British FOR. Reverend MacLachlan, who edited *Reconciliation* for nearly twenty years, has accepted a post with the *Presbyterian Messenger*.

Active in British FOR work, Reverend Phelps is a former N.W. Regional Office Secretary. He was trained for the Presbyterian Ministry at Regent's Park College and in 1931 worked at West Ham Central Mission. He has been active in literary work and once edited the British Council of Churches magazine, *Community*.

WE'RE SORRY: That on Cover 2 of the December issue we limited the Evanston Assembly of the World Council of Churches to Protestants. Actually, many Orthodox delegates and representatives participated.

F. J. Libby, Noted Pacifist, Steps Down

Frederick J. Libby, noted in some circles as an indestructible "down-East" idealist, retired November 24 from his post as executive secretary of the National Council for the Prevention of War. It was his 80th birthday. An FOR member since 1930, Libby feels that a younger man is needed in the field but doesn't intend to give up his "militant fight for peace without carnal weapons." The man who founded and led the work of the Council for 33 years now devotes his time to writing a book about the American peace movement during the last three decades.

The former Congregationalist minister who became a Quaker after World War I built the Council into the largest unendowed peace organization in American history. In 1936 it had five offices and 60 paid workers. "It was like David and Goliath," Libby recalled. Working with farm, labor, church and educational groups, the NCPW pitched its energies toward building up peace sentiment in America. Opposing "unconditional surrender" in 1945, the Council led a campaign to bring Germany and Japan back into the family of nations. The Council suspended all major activities December 31.

Quakers Stay Put During CD Drills

A mass evacuation of central city office workers and school children from their buildings in Civilian Defense drills in Philadelphia evoked a protest from the Friends Peace Committee, whose office is located in the area under drill.

Such drills and demonstrations, said the Quaker group in a public statement sent to CD personnel the day before the mass evacuation, serve mainly "to demonstrate to the world our lack of faith in our ability to prevent war."

The Quakers stayed put, while 30,000 persons poured out of office buildings and walked several blocks to "evacuation stations." Children were loaded into buses and driven for an hour toward CD gateways. It is believed that this was the first such test evacuation in a large city.

Newspaper accounts did not mention the Quaker protest.

IFOR Urges Franco-German Understanding on Saar

A plea that France and Germany settle their differences over the Saar by emphasizing "human" rather than "economic" interests was issued by the International Fellowship of Reconciliation in a detailed report of its Information Conference on the Saar held last November.

Calling for a new and dynamic concept of an interdependence of nations based on love rather than on nationalism, it asked for more than mere "neutralization" of the area as a bone of contention between the two countries. Although the inhabitants of the Saar are German, any decision to return the Saar to Germany ought to be reached by a free plebiscite, it said: "Above all, the people of the Saar must . . . be given the opportunity of forming their own opinions and expressing their own desires."

Deploring the possible use of the

aar as a pawn on the chessboard f the East-West conflict, the re- ort stated clearly that the economy f the Saar must not contribute to he armaments of Europe. A new rder means that the interests of ll—not just those of powers itch- ng for prestige—must be served.

Among declarations presented by German and French members of he Conference were the follow- ng: the need for the Saar to help rench post-war reconstruction by he restoration of self-government, ree press, free elections and hu- nan rights to help people; an conomic arrangement with France nd Germany to ensure work and ood for the people of Saar.

In addition, the Conference un- nimously urged that: the French anguage should not be undertaken y children before the fifth school ear; French be lifted from the list f "compulsory" education courses or school children since some stu- lents would be overtaxed by learn- ng a second language; the Ger- nan frontier of the Saar gradually e reopened for the import and ex- ort to goods without any closing f the French frontier.

L.P.F. (England) Opposes German Rearmament

"We call upon the Parliamentary Labor Party to oppose the ratifi- ation of the London Agreement, nd in place of German rearma- nent press for new Four-Power negotiations to achieve a peaceful nited Germany as has been pro- osed by both the West German rade Unions and Social Demo- ratic Party"—thus spoke the Na- ional Council of the Labor Peace ellowship, England.

Although on November 11 the Parliamentary Labor Party de- cided by 124 votes to 72 to sup- port the London agreement, the pacifists among the Laborites are not acquiescing calmly in the de- cision but are continuing to press for reconsideration. Both the in- dustrial and political wings of the labor movement in Western Ger- many believe that the setting in motion of rearmament will in- evitably encourage the militaristic and anti-democratic elements and hinder moves to reunite Germany by peaceful means. Labor people in England should support labor in Germany rather than the capital- istic forces which inspired and pushed through the London Agree- ment, says the Labor Peace Fel- lowship.

Ivan Geffens, of the Labor Party, has dropped his candidacy for Par- liament rather than accede to a ruling by party leaders that he campaign solely on the official party platform and abstain from propagating his pacifist views.

Peace Pilgrim on 2-Year Pilgrimage

On January 1st, Peace Pilgrim set out from the Rose Bowl, Cali- fornia, for a two-year trek across the country, which will enable her to walk at least a hundred miles in every state. Her last cross-country pilgrimage took a year.

The purpose of the pilgrimage is to plead for world disarmament. Peace Pilgrim carries a simple disarmament petition which she hopes many Americans will sign and take to heart. By making use of her extensive mailing list, she will also keep in touch with her numerous pacifist friends and well- wishers.

Former Underground Workers Honored in N. Y.

Dr. and Mrs. Aage Bertelsen, a Danish couple who led an underground movement that helped save Denmark's 6,000 Jews from the Gestapo, were honored by the Synagogue Council of America at a recent New York City reception.

Dr. Normal Salit, Council president, lauded the Bertelsens as "standard bearers of human decency." Dr. Bertelsen is the author of *October '43*, the dramatic story of the organization of the escapes. As reviewed in December's FELLOWSHIP, the work of the Bertelsens is significant in showing that one guiding spirit in the movement was pacifism, thus proving that such a doctrine is not a do-nothing dogma in times of crisis. It must be added that the Bertelsens do not now consider themselves pacifists.

Told: "No Pacifists in Russia"

There are no pacifists in Russia, Dr. Donald Soper was told by some Partisans of Peace he met while visiting there last November. Dr. Soper is an outstanding British pacifist, past president of the Methodist Conference.

Preaching to his congregation at his first evening service following his return from a fortnight's trip to Russia, Dr. Soper observed:

"Like every other country, Russia is hag-ridden with fear. It is a fear that is rooted in the violence of modern Party politics, and is enshrined in the whole miserable business of war preparation. It is that which bedevils the country, just as it stalks through our land.

"But I still believe that the first country which unilaterally forsakes all preparations for war and dispenses with every soldier will lead the world out of the dark wood of its fear."

IFOR Discusses Japanese War Crimes Prisoners

Nevin Sayre reported at the Nov. 9 meeting of the IFOR American Committee that he and Raymond Wilson (AFSC) had had an interview October 26 in Washington with General Snow, Chairman of the President's Clemency and Parole Board for War Criminals. General Snow feels that the remaining 277 U.S. prisoners are the "hard core." The Japanese government itself has recommended clemency for all but nine of the men.

General Snow mentioned three conditions in which clemency was being considered: (1) Soldiers who had acted under military orders, (2) Those who had acted in combat conditions, (3) Cases where mercy might be extended for difficult family conditions. He said that those already paroled had caused no trouble.

T. T. Brumbaugh said he had talked with some of the prisoners last summer in Tokyo. He observed that the white, democratic, Christian nations are the only ones still holding their prisoners. Their retainment leaves the West open to warranted criticism from Asiatic countries. The Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, Nationalist China and France have released all of their remaining ones.

Claud Nelson asked whether the time has not come to challenge our government to hand over the responsibility for our prisoners to the Japanese government.

Jottings

Haverford College, Pa., recently announced its graduate curriculum in Social and Technical Assistance. Haverford offers courses in this field "in the belief that the development of a peaceful world society depends on large-scale social, economic and political reorganization" in many regions of the world. Further information available directly from the school.

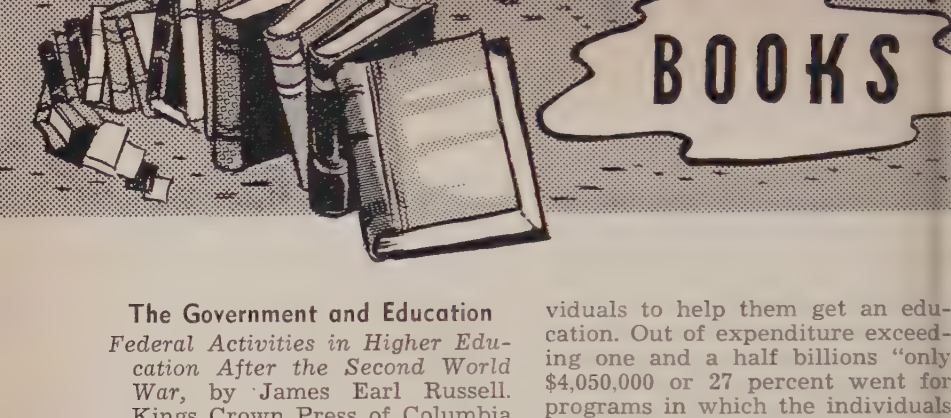
Percy Bartlett of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation urged in a December 3 letter the peace movement in all parts of the world to challenge "without delay" both *deterrence* and *defense* as false and misleading principles. He himself did so deftly in a letter to the London *Times* in reaction to an editorial lauding the necessity for both increased defensive and increased offensive power.

The National Council of Churches announced, in late December, a project for helping prison parolees get back on their feet. The "Road Back" group is headed by Robert Hannum. In addition to helping men and women released on parole, the group will help freed men and women, and also those eligible for parole but unable to obtain release until there are jobs available for them outside.

R. F. Burlingame, a dentist from Milan, Michigan, was inspired by Devere Allen's "My Dear Miako" to write a letter to Miako Kuboyama himself. Some poignant lines: "It is to challenge those whose only faith is in the dictum that 'might makes right' that this letter is written. Thus, Miako, I too ask forgiveness for myself and my country for our prostration in fear before that false god whose stern and invariable decree is suffering, sorrow and death."

"Whatever increases the sense of kinship one with another brings man closer to his Father; whatever destroys this feeling of oneness, drives man away from his Father" —thus the N.C.C.'s Race Relations Sunday message for 1955. The 500-word text takes into account the Evanston proclamation that racial prejudice is a sin against God: "Racial prejudice in any and all forms is contrary to the will and design of God. It is a sin. Let this teaching be proclaimed. He who wrongs his brother sins against God."

The National Peace Council, Great Britain, recently sent a statement to the British government on behalf of some forty affiliated organizations, including, of course, all the British pacifist bodies. "The hydrogen bomb," it read, "is the logical extension of all previous weapons of destruction, and accordingly it is war itself rather than any particular weapon, however horrible, which is the evil confronting mankind."



The Government and Education

Federal Activities in Higher Education After the Second World War, by James Earl Russell. Kings Crown Press of Columbia University, 1951. 257 pp.

Dr. Russell, who is professor at Teachers College of Columbia University, using 1947 as a typical postwar year, has made a survey of the extent to which the federal government is operating in the field of higher education. He discovered that "the total income of institutions of higher education of all types in the fiscal year 1947 was about one billion dollars." Of this the federal government provided about 50 percent and was the largest single source of income, exceeding in total the gross income from other levels of government and from investments and gifts. All of this, says Dr. Russell, has happened without being caused by any general policy. Although the federal government pays 50 percent of the income of institutions of higher education, it operates so many educational activities of its own that it actually spent more than two and a half billions for higher educational purposes when all the non-federal institutions were spending about one billion.

There are, according to this survey, at least six different ways in which the federal government has entered the field of higher education. One is by payments to individuals to help them get an education. Out of expenditure exceeding one and a half billions "only $4,050,000 or 27 percent went for programs in which the individuals to be aided were selected on some basis other than the part they had played or would play in defense activities." There are at least two problems resulting from this. First is the use of federal money as "bait" to lure persons into military work which they otherwise might not have entered. Second is the problem arising from paying veterans to go to school. Dr. Russell asks: "Did Congress intend to draw a preponderant share of future leadership from the veteran class? If so, why was this class selected to the exclusion of other groups that might make an equally good or better claim?"

The second method of federal participation in education is that of directly operating educational enterprises. In the Canal Zone the Army operates a presumably civilian junior college. It operates various military schools for its own personnel ranging from the academies at Annapolis and West Point to the Army War College and ROTC facilities in high schools and colleges. During 1947 about 85,000 persons received instruction in such schools and courses at a total cost of about $60,000,000. "Seventy percent of the number trained consisted of military personnel and the

cost of their training" was "about 90 percent of the total."

A third method is the donation of facilities such as war surplus or the providing of buildings and equipment if the institution meets certain conditions. Excluding the real value and including only the 1947 expenses in providing the facilities, the government paid about $280,000,000.

A fourth approach is that of awarding contracts for scientific research. Columbia University, for example, received a grant of $1,000,000,000.

Still another method is that of outright subsidy as in the case of the Land Grant colleges and certain schools for Negroes and the deaf.

In addition to these connections there are other ways in which higher educational institutions are related to the federal government. "Hardly a day passes," says the author, "but the newspapers report that the President or some federal agency has asked a professor or administrator of some college or university to undertake an investigation or service in the public interest."

The broad problem of what all this means Dr. Russell puts in these words: "Every one of the fund-granting programs involved some degree of federal control." After discussing some approaches which would minimize control of education under federal aid, he adds: "But no matter what schemes may be devised to overcome objections to federal control, a certain vestigial possibility of control must always be found in any situation in which federal moneys are spent in non-federal institutions of higher education, even in programs designed to subsidize individual students rather than institutions, for no institution which depends on the federal government can easily contemplate the withdrawal of federal funds either from itself or from its students."

Because of this ever present "threat of withdrawal" even if funds are only granted for a known period of months or years, "no institution of higher education in the United States today can afford to ignore the effects of federal activities."

Here in a nutshell is the problem confronting all who are concerned with the expansion of our educational opportunities and with freedom for educational institutions. Because the federal government is today so largely a war-making or military government, the threat to education is obvious for those who believe that "wars begin in the minds of men."

—JOHN SWOMLEY

Currents of Change

The Negro and the Schools, by Harry S. Ashmore. Foreword by Owen J. Roberts, Former Associate Justice, Supreme Court of the United States. Univ. of N. Carolina Press, 1954. 201 pp., $2.75 (paper, $1.50)

The Negro and the Schools is the first volume in a series of studies initiated and financed by the Fund for the Advancement of Education (Ford). These studies, begun in the summer of 1953, grew out of a widespread belief "that there was an urgent need for a new and comprehensive look at the structure of bi-racial education in the United States."

In an essay of 139 pages, followed by twenty-four annotated tables

running for 62 pages, Harry S. Ashmore has undertaken "to take the outside dimensions of the dual public school system which has served whites and Negroes in the United States through all our history. . ." On the whole, the executive editor of the Arkansas *Gazette* has done a dispassionate, objective and workmanlike job. He has traced the history of segregated public education from the 1840's, when it first became a legal issue in Boston, up to the Supreme Court decision of last spring which rules that laws requiring segregation in education are unconstitutional.

A chapter is devoted to integration at the university level where the advent of Negroes into previously all-white Southern universities has taken place in a peaceable manner. Chapters on the non-South, particularly those sections having to do with desegregation in New Jersey and Illinois, should be instructive for Southern school administrators.

In the discussion on deep running currents of change, Mr. Ashmore places the problem of inequalities in education in the large perspective of such facts as intra-regional and rural-urban differences in educational opportunity. He also takes into account such facts as population shifts, industrialization of the South and the changed political position of the Southern Negro.

Some readers will be impatient with the fact that Ashmore is not an advocate; for his task was neither that of defending segregation nor of advancing integration in the schools. His exposition and his tables, however, indicate clearly the impracticability of attaining even an approximation of full equality in bi-racial school systems in the South. As "a journalist in the company of scholars," Mr. Ashmore has demonstrated that journalism may "serve as a two-way bridge between the world of ideas and the world of men."

—CHARLES R. LAWRENCE

RECOMMENDED READING

God, Jesus and Man (comprising three Hazen Book Classics: *God*, by Walter M. Horton; *Jesus*, by Mary Ely Lyman; and *What Is Man?* by Robert L. Calhoun). Also—

Quakers Find a Way, Charles M. Woodman. Bobbs-Merrill Co., N. Y., 1950. 280 pp., $2.50.

Twelve Citizens of the World, Leonard S. Kenworthy. Doubleday, N. Y., 1953. 286 pp., $3.50. For young people.

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The German Question

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Please urge all pacifists to study the German scene and act to educate America to see another answer rather than including West Germany in a military alliance. A reunited Germany, "the heart's desire" of the German people as Senator Flanders called it, is incompatible with Western or Eastern military alliances. A divided Germany can never bring peace.

We can do something to affect what happens in Germany. Letter writing to persons and newspapers will help. Encouraging non-violent, non-hostile action by those against rearmament is essential to achieving the peaceful goal we want. There seems to be a need for creative leadership. We can help stimulate this.

Pastor Niemoller's speech in the Nov. FELLOWSHIP is good, but we must never make the mistake of thinking that all people who are not pacifists are Hitlers. That not only is false but hurts our own cause.

RUTH NEUENDORFFER
N. Tarrytown, N. Y.

On Feeding China Campaign

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I did not respond to your "money for China" campaign, for I do not feel that money is what China needs from us. It is hard to determine just how far China has become socialized, as all persons known to have been in Red China have recently been arrested, so we cannot find out the truth. But if she has become socialized to any appreciable extent there will be no individual hunger while there is food in the country.

Our papers claim that China has recently exported foodstuffs. In that case it is surely not food or money she needs. But there are things that she sorely needs from us: friendship, understanding, recognition, a seat in the U.N., and fair play.

When it comes to fair play, we as Christians should practice the Golden Rule. We should ask ourselves how we would feel if we had a discredited official, whom we had banished to, say, Catilina Island, and the Chinese should ally themselves with him, and help him sink our ships and make raids along the California Coast. And suppose she should make a pact with him to the effect that if we fought back she would go to war with us?

A READER
Astoria, Oregon

If Jerusalem Had Known

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The realistic observation of Mr. A. J. Muste (in "Evanston—After Three Months" in Dec. issue) that six years had been wasted without the World Council arriving at any satisfactory theological position on the matter, thus precluding any constructive conclusion at Evanston, gives point to his last sentence—"O Jerusalem, Je-

rusalem, if thou hadst known, at least in this thy day."

There is reason to belive that the social consciousness regarding the futility of war is outstripping the concept of the Church in our day. It is but a sad repetition of history: the Church following instead of blazing the trail.

May the World Council be prepared to face the world's gravest problem with a truly Christian hope and message at its next meeting, for our civilization will either heed the voice of its greatest prophets or perish by the very means upon which it places its hope of survival.

PETER DE BOEF
Grand Haven, Mich.

Glad Debate Got Started

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The debate about "Would You Lie to Save a Life?" hits at the basis of pacifism. How could any pacifist become an accessory to murder? The ideals of love and truth eternally collide. Since truth can be cruel and even lead to the killing of people, how can pacifists serve truth?

It is a complicated question. Ibsen dealt with the evils of too much truth telling in "The Wild Duck," after having taken the other side in "An Enemy of the People."

The question is so vital that I am glad you have started this interesting debate.

ANNE E. MOFFETT
St. Augustine, Fla.

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BASIC READING

A. J. Muste's **Camp of Liberation**—15¢. Not a blueprint, but a suggestion of the Third Camp's program of liberation. Page 11 alone is worth the few cents this pamphlet costs.

John Swomley's **The Peace Offensive and the Cold War**—35¢. Tom Wardle of **Peace News** says, "Badly needed writing, and badly needs reading . . . an excellent pamphlet."

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